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A New Russian Presidential Decree on the FSB Organs Operating Inside the Russian Militaries: Analysis and Abstract

Foreword

This document provides first an analysis and then an abstract of a 7 Feb 2000 Russian Presidential decree changing the regulations for the Federal Security Service (FSB) organs within the Russian militaries. This document is divided into two. **Part I** is the Foreign Military Studies Office's summary and analysis of the decree. **Part II** is a translated synopsis of the new decree itself.

The decree contains seven sections and twenty-six subsections. The seven sections are:

- General principles;
- Tasks of the state security organs within the military;
- Obligations;
- Rights;
- System;
- Cooperation of the organs of state security in the military with other organs and organizations;
- Financing, military-technical support, and other support to the organs of state security within the military.

This document will outline the contents of each of the major sections and subsections within this decree. Putin's cover letter to this decree notes that Yeltsin had issued an *Ukaz* #277 on 19 Feb 1993 called "On the Establishment of the Principles Concerning Organs of State Security within the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and Other Troop Formations (Military Counterintelligence)."

Part I

Putin Strengthens Third Directorate's Penetration of Russia's Militaries

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Introduction and Analysis

On 7 February 2000 Acting President Vladimir Putin signed an *Ukaz* (decree) that strengthened the plenipotentiary powers of the Third Directorate of the Federal Security Service (FSB) within the Russian militaries.¹ While not a translation of the text, the synopsis provided here will give interested readers sufficient detail to make their own assessment of the significance of this decree within the context of the continuing struggle for control of the Russian state and society. The decree is divided into seven sections and twenty-six articles. It is based on the Federal Statute "Concerning the Organs of the Federal Security Service" and replaces the presidential *Ukaz* of 19 February 1993, issued by President Yeltsin at the time of growing tension between the President and Russian Parliament, when each side was bidding for the loyalty of the Russian Armed Forces, which had only been established in the spring of 1992 after the collapse of the effort to retain a unified Confederation of Independent States (CIS) military establishment. The current *Ukaz* addresses the following areas: General Principles; Tasks of the Security Organs in the Militaries; Obligations of the Security Organs in the Militaries; the Rights of the Security Organs in the Militaries; the System of Security Organs in the Militaries; the Cooperation of the Security Organs in the Military with State Organs, Other Organs, and Organizations; and Financing, and Military-Technical Support and Other Support of the Security Organs in the Military and their Personnel.

While the decree does not represent anything new in terms of FSB penetration of the military – the FSK had already been authorized to undertake that task under the Yeltsin decree of February 1993 – it does raise serious questions regarding the relationship between Russia's governing elite and the various militaries. The current decree invokes an earlier tradition of secret police penetration of the military – the KGB and its Soviet predecessors from the VCHKA to the MGB had systematically penetrated the Red Army from the earliest days of the Soviet state. The Third Section of His Majesty's Imperial Chancellory had done the same, but with less system, to the War and Naval Ministries in Imperial Russia. In an open society one can rely upon public scrutiny, conventional politics, separation of powers, and professionalism to manage such relations, but in a police state, where the government seeks to use bureaucracy to police all aspects of society, there is a need for other organs to police the bureaucracy. This is especially true for the military, whose silence on political matters during a time of crisis means that the final arbitrator of political power, i.e., the use of force and the roar of guns, has not been invoked and remains under state control. In this context the agent of the FSB in the military uses the tools of his trade to engage in the clandestine penetration of the military unit under his observation. In the Soviet tradition this penetration depends upon the recruitment of voluntary assistants/informers or *stukachi*, who are usually motivated by less than exalted purposes and more often by their self-interest or by their vulnerability before the FSB.²

The decree is noteworthy for the broad powers its confers and specific tasks it assigns to the competent organs in penetrating the Russia's numerous militaries. As we have noted earlier, the FSK's oversight focused on military critics of the Yeltsin government, including the charismatic commander of the 14th Army in Moldova, LTG Aleksandr Lebed.³ The growing tide of military discontent over service conditions, the First War in Chechnya, and then months without wages brought greater efforts to uncover penetration of potential centers of opposition.⁴ Yeltsin's system of divide and rule maintained a tension among the power ministries and dissatisfaction among their ranks. It guaranteed presidential control but not effective or efficient management.⁵

Public discussion of the *Ukaz* and its implications has been bound-up with the current political situation in Russia, i.e., Putin's succession to the presidency, the current electoral campaign, the conduct of the war in Chechnya, and the provisions of the new editions of the National Security Concept and Military Doctrine.⁶ In some of the analysis of the *Ukaz* observers have confused the FSB penetration of military units with the role of "political commissars" and the system of "dual command" introduced into the Red Army during the Russian Civil War to guarantee the loyalty of military specialists [*voyenistsy*], i.e., tsarist officers who volunteered or were forced into the service of the Red Army.⁷ In fact, FSB agents are a throwback to another tradition, the secret police counter-intelligence associated with the Special Sections [*osobyie otdely*] of the competent organs of state security, known in years of mature socialism as "Konstantin Georgievich Bessmertnyi" in popular slang. Some observers see the recent *Ukaz* as only another step towards the achievement of Putin's avowed goal of creating a "dictatorship of law" in order to restore effective control of the militaries. Gordon Hahn has speculated that the signing of the decree was to counter crime, corruption and lack of discipline in the militaries:

It appears Putin has moved to strengthen the FSB in ways that appear consistent with his goal of strengthening the state, law enforcement and weeding out some forms of corruption. The decree is therefore likely targeted at the problems plaguing the armed forces such as crime, corruption, *dedovshchina*, and the general lack of discipline and/or at improving counter-intelligence.⁸

Yet, as Hahn himself points out, if the decree did not represent any significant increase in powers for the FSB organs within the military, then why announce a new decree? Major General Aleksandr Zdanovich, chief of the Russian FSB assistance programs directorate, said that "security bodies in the forces are not getting any extra powers." Zdanovich stated that the *Ukaz* "merely brings security bodies into line with the existing structure in the Armed Forces, where reforms have been conducted of late."⁹ At the same time the general also stated, as we pointed out above, that the *Ukaz* was also in keeping with the threats outlined in the recently approved National Security Concept and the draft Military Doctrine, which is supposed to be published in its final form shortly. This discussion begs the issue of the compatibility of such organs with the operation of effective civilian control of the military in an open society and raises questions regarding the nature of civil-military relations under Putin's presidency.

The recent decree identifies the Third Directorate of the FSB as the keystone of a "unified centralized system" of FSB organs and authorizes it to establish directorates [*upravleniya*] and sections [*otdely*] in the Armed Forces of the Ministry Defense [VSRF], the Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [VVMD], the Federal Border Guards Service [SPV], the Federal Agency of Governmental Communications and Information [FAPSI], Railroad Troops, Civil Defense Troops, Engineering-Support and Road Construction Troops, the government's mobilization apparatus, and within any "special formations" created in war time. In short, this decree authorizes the FSB to penetrate all of Russia's militaries, except for the paramilitary formations belonging to the Presidential Security Service. This penetration extends to all formations and units, every military district and all groups of forces.

The decree assigns to the organs of the FSB inside the military its specific tasks relating to a range of threats to state security. These tasks include: identification, prevention, and interception of

attempts to penetrate the military by foreign intelligence services or individual persons intent on harming the security of the Russian Federation, its Armed Forces, other militaries, formations, and organs. The FSB organs within the military are also tasked with collecting information regarding threats to the Russian Federation, the Armed Forces, other militaries, troop formations and organs. In cooperation with other state organs, it is entrusted with the struggle against terrorism, sabotage, smuggling, and crime in these same areas and has the task of uncovering any plots by "illegal armed formations, criminal groups, individuals, social entities whose purpose is the forcible change of the constitutional structure of Russia, seizing power, or the forcible retention of power." It is charged with preventing unauthorized actions in connection with weapons of mass destruction (WMD). It is also entrusted with the task, in cooperation with other state organs, of protecting "the President, the Prime Ministers and their subordinates within the Russian government and constituent members of the Russian Federation." Finally, it is tasked with "participating in the operational (counter-intelligence) support of the protection of the RF state borders." The FSB directorates and sections in the military are responsible, within their plenipotentiary powers, for maintaining the system of classified information and communications. In the elaboration of the obligations of the FSB organs with the militaries the decree adds an item that sounds distinctly like providing advanced warning of coups and mutinies with the military, i.e., "indicators of the development of emergency situations as well as the presentation to the above-named organs of other information necessary in order to secure the defense and security of the RF."¹⁰ The document also provides detailed guidance on the covert operations of FSB agents and the recruitment of volunteer informants under the section devoted to the rights of FSB organs within the militaries:

Establish on a confidential basis a relationship of cooperation with persons who have given their consent in the interests of supporting the security of the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs, as well as to carry out other tasks as outlined in Federal legislation.¹¹

While such recruitment may be directed towards the countering of efforts of foreign intelligence services to penetrate the militaries, the other tasks of the FSB organs within the militaries leaves the impression of a political and ideological supervision of these militaries that is in keeping with earlier practices. The powers of the Third Directorate to manage this centralized counter-intelligence system within the militaries are sweeping in scope. There is no mention in the *Ukaz* of any parliamentary or judicial oversight of the organs.

Part II

[English-language abstract based on the original Russian-language decree]

Presidential *Ukaz* on the Directorates (Sections) of the FSB of the Russian Federation within the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and other Troop Formations and Organs¹²

1. General Principles

Article One describes the FSB directorate's (sections) as forming a unified centralized

system of the organs of the FSB and as directly subordinated to the FSB. FSB organs within the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation [RFAF], the Border Guard Service, FAPSI, within the Internal Troops of the Interior Ministry [VV MVD], Civil Defense Troops, Engineer-Technical and Railway-Construction Formations, Federal organs that support mobilization preparation of the national government, as well as any special formations created in war time – all of them are under the watchful eye of the FSB organs. FSB organs are located in unified armed forces and are under a unified command and provide security for the large formations, formations and troop units of the RFAF and other formations listed above that are located outside the territory of the Russian Federation, according to Federal legislation and international treaties of the RF.

Article Two establishes that the FSB organs are supposed to operate according to the constitution of the RF, Federal constitutional laws, Federal laws, and Presidential decrees and directives, as well as the directives of the RF government. The FSB organs within the units deployed outside of Russia are supposed to be governed by the legislation of the states on whose territory the Russian units are deployed.

2. Tasks of the Security Organs within the Military

This section outlines the tasks of the FSB organs within the military, as follows:

- Identifying, preventing and stopping intelligence and other actions of the special services and organizations of foreign states, as well as of individuals, that are directed toward harming the security of the Russian Federation, its Armed Forces, or other military formations and organs;
- Collecting intelligence information concerning threats to the security of the RF, the RFAF, and other military formations and organs;
- Identifying, preventing and stopping terrorists and sabotage actions directed against the RFAF and other military formations and organs;
- Identifying, preventing and stopping crimes that according to Federal legislation rest within the competence of the organs of the FSB;
- Preventing, within the sphere of its authority, non-sanctioned actions with weapons of mass destruction [WMD];
- Participating in cooperation with other state organs in the struggle against organized crime, corruption, contraband, illegal transfer of weapons, military supplies, explosive devices, poisonous substances, narcotics, psychotropics, special technical means for eavesdropping, illegal armed formations, criminal groups, individuals, social entities whose purpose is the forcible change of the constitutional structure of Russia, seizing power, or the forcible retention of power;
- Participating in the security of the RF President and the Prime Minister, as well as their subordinates within the Russian government and constituent members of the Russian Federation, by providing information regarding threats to the security of the RF, RFAF and other military formations and organs;
- Participating in the operational (counter-intelligence) support of the protection of the RF state borders.

In fulfilling the above-mentioned tasks the FSB organs within the military render assistance to the organs of the military administration and to official persons within the RFAF and other military formations and organs in support of the combat and mobilization readiness of those forces.

3. Obligations of the FSB Organs within the Military

The FSB organs within the military are obliged to do the following:

- Identify, warn about and halt the intelligence and other activities of the special services and organizations of foreign governments and individuals intending to do harm to the security of the RF, its Armed Forces and other military formations and organs;
- Cooperate with the other organs of the FSB and the external intelligence service of the RF in intelligence activities with the goals of collecting, analyzing and utilizing information about threats to the security of the RF, the RFAF and other military formations and organs, as well penetrating into the special services and organizations of foreign governments;
- Conduct an inquiry and preliminary investigation about crimes that fall within the Federal legal competence of the organs of the FSB;
- Enter into cooperation with other state organs on measures in the struggle against nuclear terrorism, other types of terrorism, organized crime, corruption, smuggling, illegal transfer of weapons, munitions, explosives and poisonous substances, narcotics, psychotropics, and special technical means used for eavesdropping; all of the aforementioned are executed with the RFAF; the FSB organs also seek to counter any attempt to draw RFAF military personnel and other military formations and organs into activities that have as their goal armed uprisings, forcible change of the constitutional order, seizing power or the forcible retention of power and in the battle with other crimes as related in Federal legislation to be within the competence of the FSB;
- Participate in the development and implementation of measures for the prevention of unsanctioned actions involving WMD;
- Participate in the development and implementation of measures in defense of state secrets, as well as establishment of a system for monitoring the security of those same secrets, which include measures to counter foreign technical intelligence; FSB organs should also maintain the security of the special classified forms of communications and code work in the RFAF and other military formations and organs;
- Establish measures relating to the access to classified materials by military personnel and personnel of other military formations and organs;
- Participate in the resolution of issues regarding the departure from RF territory of RFAF and civilian personnel and the personnel of other military formations and organs, as well as the regulations covering visits of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship on the territory of the RF;
- Conduct analysis of possible threats to the security of the RFAF and other militaries, military formations and organs, in order to forecast the trends and tendencies in the development of these threats;

- Inform Federal organs of state power, other state organs, organs of military administration and officials about threats to the security of the RF, the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs, and also about indicators of the development of emergency situations as well as the presentation to the above-named organs of other information necessary in order to secure the defense and security of the RF;
- Inform the organs of military administration and officials about the identified activities of foreign intelligence services, as well as individuals, whose activities are directed to inflict harm on the defense and security of the RF, as well as relating to other issues regarding the security of objects of operational support, and also monitor the use of the aforementioned information;
- Track and store operational service documents containing information about forces, means, sources, methods, plans, and the results of actions of the security organs within the military;
- Support the constant operational and mobilization readiness of the FSB organs in the military;
- Execute measures to provide for their own security.
- FSB organs within the military also perform other obligations within the competence of the organs of the FSB under the Federal Law about the FSB of the RF.

4. Rights of the FSB Organs within the Military

This section contains ten paragraphs outlining these rights, as follows, the right to:

- Establish on a confidential basis a relationship of cooperation with persons who have given their consent in the interests of supporting the security of the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs, as well as to carry out other tasks as outlined in Federal legislation;
- Execute operational search, counter-intelligence and intelligence measures upon objects of operational support and in their surroundings in order to perform the tasks entrusted to the FSB organs in the military;
- Conduct an inquiry and preliminary investigation regarding crimes as related in Federal legislation to the competence of the FSB;
- Store and utilize operational and other materials necessary for supporting the activities of the FSB organs in the military, and in order to achieve these goals, create information systems;
- Provide the organs of military administration and responsible officials with ideas on how to counter the causes and conditions that make possible the implementation of threats against the security of the RF and the RFAF, as well as regarding the commission of crimes that according to Federal legislation rest within the competence of the FSB, and also monitor the use of these ideas;
- Support, based on international treaties of the RF, contacts with the intelligence services of foreign states and together with them carry out cooperation in the military area or upon the territories on which are deployed large formations and formations of the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;
- Utilize, based on agreements with the responsible state organs, organs of the military administration and officials means of communication, military quarters,

- transportation, other forces and means, as well as information systems, data banks, archival records and documents of the objects of operational support;
- Familiarize themselves, within the corresponding organs of military control, with normative documents, plans, acts and other materials, to include those that define and characterize the financial and economic activities of these organs, as well as with the arms and military equipment used by the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;
 - Utilize the documents of Federal executive organs, enterprises and organizations in order to provide for FSB organs' own security and to conceal the departmental affiliation of the employees of the subunits, the place of residence and means of transportation of the FSB organs in the troops;
 - Make use of other rights which are provided to organs of the FSB by Federal legislation.

5. System of FSB Organs in the Military

The system of FSB organs in the military consists of:

- Directorate of Counterintelligence [Third Directorate] of the Federal Intelligence Service, hereafter known as the Third Directorate;
- Directorates and sections of the FSB in military districts and fleets, in the district of the Air Forces and Air Defense Forces, within the Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the regional directorates of the Federal Border Service, groups of forces, and large formations under centralized subordination further known as the directorates and sections of the FSB of the Russian Federation in operational-strategic and operational formations;
- FSB sections in large formations, formations and troop units, in garrisons, educational institutions and organizations of the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;
- Security organs within the forces have actual and conditional names, insignia, and heraldry with corresponding stationary and imprinting;
- Third Directorate is a sub-unit of the central apparatus of the FSB, which carries out the direct leadership of the subordinated organs of the FSB in the military;
- Third Directorate maintains security in the central organs of the RFAF, other militaries, military formations and organs, and the troop units and organizations directly subordinate to them;
- The structure and organization of the activities of the Third Directorate are determined by a provision signed by the director of the FSB;
- In the system of the security organs of the military a collegium is formed, the composition of which will include the chief of the Third Directorate (chairman of the collegium), his first deputy and the deputies by office, as well as other leading co-workers of the third directorate and of the organs of security in the military, and including in the composition of the college the director of the FSB;
- The structure and TO&E of the organs of security in the military are established by and may be changed by the director of the FSB, in accordance with the wishes of the chief of the Third Directorate;
- The chief of the Third Directorate and the heads of the directorates and sections of the FSB for operational-strategic and operational formations have the authority to

- make changes in the structure and TO&E of the subordinate organs of the FSB in the military of the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;
- The FSB organs in the military are staffed by both military and civilian personnel; the military personnel of FSB organs in the military as well as persons from among the civilian personnel that are assigned to military positions are employees of the FSB organs;
 - In accordance with existing Federal legislation, FSB organs in the military are staffed by: military personnel by the way of voluntary enlistment of citizens of the RF in military service and the subsequent identification of service personnel and their later transfer to the organs of state security in the military, other militaries, military formations and organs; civilian personnel will be recruited through their voluntary entry into service;
 - Military personnel in the organs of state security in the military enter service according to the Federal Law "On military obligation and military service," and pursuant to other Federal laws;
 - Obligations, rights and privileges of military and civilian FSB personnel in the military are determined by the Federal Law "On the organs of the FSB of the RF";
 - The leaders of the FSB organs in the military may exercise vis-a-vis the military personnel subordinate to them the same disciplinary rights as outlined in the RFAF Disciplinary Regulation;
 - All of the rights, privileges, guarantees and compensations, as well as other social benefits established for FSB personnel, are granted to the workers of the FSB in the military;
 - All of the rights, privileges, guarantees and compensations, as well as other social benefits that are enjoyed by military personnel in the objects of operational support are also granted to the military personnel of FSB organs in the military who are working under the same conditions as the other military personnel at those objects;
 - Training, retraining, and professional development of FSB military employees will be carried out in the academies and institutes for preparation and advancement of FSB cadres and on a contract basis with other educational institutions engaged in higher education;
 - No one has the right to intervene in the lawful actions of the employees of the FSB in the military, except for persons directly granted such authority by Federal legislation and this decree.

6. Cooperation of the FSB Organs in the Military with State Organs, other Organs and Organizations

FSB organs in the military will execute their assigned tasks in cooperation with the organs of state power of the RF, the organs or military administration and official persons, with judicial organs, with the organs of the prosecutor's office of the RF, with law enforcement and other organs that act in the sphere of supporting the defense and security of the RF. The FSB organs in the military will inform the corresponding state organs, organs of military administration and official persons:

- About the identification, prevention and countering of intelligence and other activities of foreign special services and organizations, as well as those of

individual persons that are directed towards damaging the security of the RF, the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;

- About the identification of, prevention and countering of terrorist and sabotage actions directed against the RFAF, other militaries, military formations and organs;
- About the identification, prevention and countering of crimes which under Federal statute fall within the competence of the FSB organs;
- About violations of the established conditions for protecting state secrets, the security of coded and ciphered communications, as well as facts concerning the loss of the carriers of information that comprise secrets, and of the pre-conditions relating to such violations and facts;
- About violations of the established requirements regarding the protection of nuclear and other types of security of the RF, the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs; about the pre-conditions that give rise to emergency situations which could have serious consequences for the Armed Forces, other militaries and military formations and organs;
- The organs of military administration and official persons use the abovementioned information in a form wherein the source is encoded and only with the written approval from the FSB organ that provided it;
- The appropriate FSB organ in the military will be officially notified of any actions that are taken based on this information;
- FSB organs in the military will inform the prosecutor's office of the RF, as well as the organs conducting operational search activity, regarding established facts of illegal activity that rests within the competence of these organs;
- In resolving questions that fall within the competence of the FSB organs in the military, the organs of military administration and official persons will coordinate their actions with the organs of the FSB in the military;
- Organs of military administration and official persons will render assistance to the FSB organs in the military in the accomplishment of those tasks before them, as well as inform them:
 - On questions relating to the working out and execution of measures to defend state secrets in the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;
 - Regarding visits to objects of operational security by foreign delegations, individual foreign citizens, and stateless persons;
 - Regarding the departure of military personnel and civilian personnel with access to state secrets from the territory of the RF and about contacts of military personnel with foreign nationals that are not the result of service necessity;
 - About questions relating to the maintenance of nuclear and other types of security in the RFAF, other militaries and military formations and organs;
 - About the execution of other exercises, tests of weapons and military technology, redeployment of forces and other important actions;
 - About the loss of the conveyors of secret information;
 - About the seizure, loss, theft and the bringing into a non-combat situation of armaments and military equipment;

- About emergency situations at objects of operational security;
 - On other questions relating to maintaining the security of the RF, other militaries, military formations and organs;
- Representatives of FSB organs have the right to participate personally in sessions and meetings conducted by the organs of military administration and official persons, and they have the right to make proposals to them;
- Leaders of FSB organs in the military are included in the membership of military councils, in the RFAF, other militaries, military formations and organs, in administrative collegia [boards], and sections of the FSB of the RF in individual regions and constituent members of the Federation (territorial organs of security), and they can also participate in the work of the regional councils of the territorial organs of security;
- Cooperation of FSB organs in the military with the security organs, special services, law enforcement bodies, and other organs of foreign governments is established and exists in accordance with Federal legislation and the international treaties of the RF, according to the procedure established by the FSB of the RF;

7. Financing, Material-Technical and other Support of the Activity of the FSB Organs and their Personnel in the Military

- The financing and military-technical support of the Third Directorate, as well as the medical, social and everyday welfare of its workers, are established in accordance with the subunits of the FSB of the RF;
- The directorates and sections of the FSB for operational strategic and operational formations, the FSB sections in large formations, formations and troop units and organizations of the appropriate organs of the RFAF, other militaries, military formations and organs are:
 - Provided with armaments, military equipment, transport and other material means according to the TO&E established by the FSB;
 - Provided with all types of secret and open communications, medical services, military transportation documents, duty and living quarters for the workers of the FSB in the military in large formations, formations, units and organizations;
 - Monetary compensation of military personnel and the pay of civilian personnel of the FSB in the military will be paid pursuant to the norms established by the FSB in accordance with Federal legislation and the laws of the constituent members of the RF;
 - The procedures of the FSB organs in the military are established by joint normative legal acts of the FSB, the MOD, the MVD, FAPSI, and other interested Federal organs of the executive power on the basis of the centralized compensation of the FSB for expenditures in support of the subordinate FSB organs in the military; these joint normative legal acts are determined by the procedures for the allocation and the numerical strength of subunits of watchmen and the number of drivers for the FSB units' transport, taking into account the officially established TO&E number for the large formations, formations, military troop units and organizations of the RFAF, other militaries, troop formations and organs;

- Organs of military administration and official persons will render the necessary assistance to the FSB organs in the military in organizing the applied military and technical training of their employees;
- Special technology, computers, and other technical means of special and general significance of the FSB organs in the military will be centrally provided by the FSB;
- The types, volume and procedures of operational expenditures of FSB organs in the military will be established by normative legal acts of the FSB of the RF.

ENDNOTES

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3. Jacob W. Kipp, "The Political Ballet of General Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed: Implications for Russia's Presidential Elections," Problems of Post-Communism, (July-August, 1996), 43-53.
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5. Valery Borisenko, "Gendarmerie or Army?" Moscow News, No. 9 (February 15-21, 1996), p. 3.
6. Vladimir Mukhin, "New Military Counterintelligence Code," Nezavisimaya Gazeta (15 February 2000), p. 2, FBIS: CEP20000216000204.
7. Jamie Dettmer, "Putin remodels Russia of old," Washington Times, (February 17, 2000).
8. Gordon M. Hahn, "Hahn on Chazan and Herspring on New Decree on Special Departments," Johnson's Russia List, #4128, (28 February 2000), davidjohnson@erols.com.
9. Vladimir Mukhin, "New Military Counterintelligence Code," Nezavisimaya Gazeta (15 February 2000), p. 2, FBIS: CEP20000216000204.
10. Ukaz.
11. Ibid..

12. The present English-language version of this decree is a synopsis rather than a detailed translation. It was prepared by the Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 25 Feb 00.

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